[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu ǂ'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

645 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. ≠*Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why ≠*Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//gauwa*. ≠*Gao/na* then smears the *//gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to ≠*Gao/na* and is called */thoo*. ≠*Gao/na* then takes the *//gauwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to ≠*Gao/na*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//gauwasi*.

The *//gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. [782]
They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things.

≠*Gao/na* gives the *//gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *//gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//gauwasi* without differentiation in status or [762]
function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaus*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//gauwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.